

PEACE NEWS

No. 395 January 7, 1944 2d.

DARKNESS and LIGHT

By the Editor

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

PEACE News appears in a new form, to begin a new year, to signify new energy. Accordingly, we reassert our faith. Not the false faith of a shallow and unfounded optimism. A faith commensurate with what is happening to the world.

What is happening?

Simply this. A civilization is perishing in an uncontrollable orgy of demoniac war. This civilization is the Christian civilization. The Christian civilization bombing itself to "death and dust and ashes." With blessings from the Christian Churches.

Just that. Only that.

And Peace News in a new dress. Selling 18,000 and hoping, with your help, to get to 20,000. And the "death, dust, and ashes" men leaving us alone because we are harmless. Who cares for us? Who believes in us?

You do. And if you have never read us before, and throw us away in contempt, you will. One day you will. One day you will say, or your children will: "Those pacifists—they were right."

DECEIVING THEMSELVES

The "death, dust, and ashes" men tell you of the new world to come: the new world-peace: the new unity. Lies, all lies. They do not know they are lying. They deceive themselves.

Unity in hatred and destruction is not an advance towards world-unity at all. It is a mad rush away from it.

After the orgy of false unity which now bedevils men, disruption will follow like a nemesis: in the nation and between the nations. After the last war, the General Strike at home, and enmity between the "victorious" Allies abroad.

Yet we pretend it is going to be quite different this time. Why should it be? Ground there is none, in the reason of man or the wisdom of God, for such a belief.

TO A COMMON DOOM

But the "death, dust, and ashes" men have to believe it. If they could not persuade the nation to believe that, its eyes would be opened. It would be compelled to admit that the war is the criminal madness it is. It would wake to the fact that we and our enemies are being driven like victims to a common doom.

Who or what drives men to the common doom, which will overtake victims and vanquished?

Not the diabolical cunning of states—
(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

UNTIRING WORK

THE other day Reginald Kirk, of 18 Navarino Rd., Dalston, brought in his fourth bag of 100 threepenny pieces for the Peace News Fund. It is a splendid example of the untiring work which some people do for it, and which has been the main cause of its steady growth.

On every side the evidence increases that education for peace—in the most comprehensive meaning of the words—will be the crying need of suffering and disillusioned society after the European war is ended. Stick to the job, friends! You will never regret it.

Contributions since Dec. 20: £31 15s. Total to date: £5,062 2s. 5d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

THE POPE PLEADS —

World Co-operation, No Dictated Peace

In his Christmas allocation, the Pope

condemned more plainly than ever "this horrible war"; indicted Christians for "the share of responsibility which falls on them for the present trials"; appealed to them to help the starving and to aid in reconstruction; and urged the statesmen to "rise above" the temptation to make a one-sided settlement on the basis of their superior military strength, and to seek instead a peace in which ALL the belligerents can co-operate.

We print here extracts from the text of the allocation published in the Catholic Herald on Dec. 31.

UNFORTUNATELY, the world, as it looks round, must still behold with horror the reality of strife and destruction which, growing daily wider and more cruel, dashes its hopes. . . .

It is a form of war which proceeds without intermission on its horrible way and piles up slaughter of such a kind that the most blood-stained and horrible pages of past history pale in comparison with it.

The people have had to witness a new and incalculable perfection of the means and arts of destruction while, at the same time, they see an interior decadence which, starting from the weakening and deviation of a moral sense, is hurtling ever downward towards the state where every human sentiment is crushed and the light of reason is eclipsed.

* * *

And now, all you who carry responsibility, all you who by God's disposition or permission hold in your hands the power over the destiny of your own people and of the people of others, listen to the entreating lesson. . . .

. . . . The devastation wrought by the present conflict in all fields of life

—material and spiritual—has reached such unparalleled gravity and extent, and the danger of its growing, through the prolongation of the war, into nameless horrors for both belligerent groups and for those who, though reluctant, have been swept away by the war appears so dark and menacing to our eye, that for the welfare and for the very existence of each and every nation we ask and entreat you: rise above yourselves, above any narrow judgment and calculation, above any pride in military superiority, above any one-sided proclamation of right and justice.

Admit the existence of unpleasant facts and teach your peoples to face them with earnestness and fortitude.

* * *

This time demands imperiously that the war aims and peace programmes should be dictated by the highest moral sense. Their sole ultimate aim must be understanding and concord among the belligerent nations. . . .

Do not demand from any member of the family of nations, however small or weak, that it should forgo fundamental rights and vital necessities which you would judge impossible to renounce should your own people be asked to do so.

The Morality of Devastation

WAR has its consolations. "It the Air Correspondent of T more than 12,000 of Berlin's life as an organized city."

This remarkable article says further:

"A great many bombs appear to have fallen in the densely built-up Government offices areas, but the death-roll among civil servants cannot have been so great as it would have been only four months ago, because hundreds of them were evacuated from the capital during the battle of Hamburg."

That is a great pity, of course. But, as I remarked above, war has its consolations.

"Some of the districts known to have been bombed are among the most densely populated in Europe, and the attacks must have further complicated Germany's already difficult housing problem."

However, there is still a great deal for the bombers to do. "It has been popularly assumed that the fight has been won"—victory being the obliteration of two-thirds of Berlin. "In fact, the destruction of Berlin is the most formidable task the Command is ever likely to undertake."

The Greatest Good . . . ?

MR. Walter Lippmann, in The Sunday Times (Jan. 2), discusses the moral problem. He makes a brave beginning.

"We should dishonour ourselves and our cause if we did not face with a candid conscience our moral responsibility in the devastation of the German cities. For obviously we cannot be satisfied to say that we are now doing what the enemy did first. We reject his moral standards and, therefore, cannot stoop to justify our actions by his standards."

After that I expected—well, what did I expect? Knowing that the candid conscience would finally be quietened, my curiosity was limited to the way it would be done. Knowing Mr. Lippmann as the author of "A Preface to Morals" I expected something a little more subtle than this:

"In attacking the German people . . . many innocent Germans perish. But if we refrained from attacking the cities from which the subjugation of Europe is directed still more innocent people of all sorts in the captive nations must perish. We could only spare Berlin at the cost of prolonging the agony of countless millions who are the victims of the power organized and directed from Berlin."

will probably not be necessary," says he Observer (Jan. 2), "to devastate vital 18,000 acres to end its war-time

Sources of Suffering

LET us consider this. The crux of the argument is the assertion that countless millions of innocent people are enduring agony as the victims of power organized in Berlin—and any other city that happens to be under sentence of devastation. But candid conscience is not a monopoly. Mine incites me to ask: Is this true? The "liberated" people of Corsica showed no sign of having endured agonies. Even in the East where the Germans—and for that matter, the Russians: there are 1½ million Poles still to be accounted for by Russia—seem to have acted quite lawlessly, it is admitted that the peasants are carrying on much as they have always done (New Statesman, Jan. 1).

The most solid evidence of real suffering to the tune of "countless millions" in the German occupied territories is the starvation in Greece and Belgium; and the chief cause of that is the Allied blockade. Even so, the suffering from starvation in Europe is probably a good deal less than it is in that other occupied country called British India.

Now suppose there were a candid conscience in Germany, and Germany had the bombers. Would it not justify the devastation of every considerable city in Britain by precisely the same argument? And how would Mr. Lippmann rebut it?

Irresponsible People

MR. Lippmann then proceeds to discuss another problem. How far are the German people to be held responsible for the acts of the German State? If they are not to be held responsible, he argues, it follows that the German people are not fitted for self-government. "The nation cannot have the right of independence and sovereignty if it is

MORE RELIEF FOR GREECE

On the morning of January 1 news reached the Food Relief Campaign at Dick Sheppard House that Greek relief was to be extended immediately by approximately 1,000 tons.

END-of-YEAR FAST

A report by
VERA BRITAIN

ON the last two days of the old year, many men and women observed a fast initiated by the Food Relief Campaign as an appeal to the conscience of the nation on behalf of the hungry children of Europe. This experiment has had some interesting consequences, not the least of these being the friendliness of the press.

Half a dozen national dailies and many provincial papers quoted extracts from the public statement issued as an invitation to all who felt moved to express their concern in this way. One Dutch journalist, on the editorial staff of Vry Nederland, described the fast as "the best Christmas present he could possibly have had."

The New York Herald-Tribune cabled a message to New York and inquired twice for further news. A Colonial and Empire news agency was also eager for more details, and messages of congratulation came from as far afield as Montreal.

SOME WHO TOOK PART

More than 600 names of people undertaking to fast for all or part of the period set aside have been received, and many more are believed to have shared in the observance. Each of those concerned probably knows at least two or three others who preferred to disclose their intentions only to their own households.

Numerous promises of special
(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Observer's Commentary

to be absolved of moral responsibility."

It sounds all right—in the abstract. But put it into the concrete, and into reverse. This little affair of the Indian famine: who is responsible for that? Admittedly the British Parliament, which controls the Government of India. Who is responsible for the Acts of Parliament? The British people. If they are not responsible, they are not fitted for self-

government. Thus, the only question appears to be: who is to punish them? Candid conscience suggests that it should be the Indians themselves. Perhaps they will render a charitable judgment, like Mr. Lippmann's on the Germans, and decide that we are not responsible, and therefore incapable of self-government.

American Politics

THAT is enough morals for this week. Cut the cackle and come to the 'osses. Gen. Eisenhower hopes the war in Europe will be over in 1944. The Russians have out-generalled von Manstein's counter-offensive against Kiev, but not achieved the break-through announced as usual by the newspapers. Various appointments to the High Command for the forthcoming allied offensive—north, west, and south—have been rather demonstratively announced. The Scharnhorst has been sunk in a grim and decisive battle in the Arctic darkness.

A colossal game of American "politics" is being played in USA. The behaviour of Congress shows that USA is the one country where democracy really democks. The
(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

PEACE NEWS

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The Causes of Things

"HAPPY he who knew the causes of things," said the Roman poet. It depends. It does not make particularly for happiness today to know the causes of this war, when most other people are determined to ignore or forget them. The official and the popular legend is that one man, Adolf Hitler, is the cause of the war. In certain contexts that legend is inconvenient, for it implies that the German people are innocent. Accordingly, it can be expanded at will into the form: the German people as a whole is guilty of the war, because it allowed itself to be ruled by Adolf Hitler.

At that point the legend stops dead. To pry beyond it is war-time sacrilege. To ask why the German people allowed itself to be ruled by Adolf Hitler is forbidden. To point out that Hitler obtained power when the terrible pre-war economic depression was at its worst; that the parallel economic upheaval in Great Britain put the National Government in office for a period likely to last just as long as Hitler's own power; that whereas in Britain the Labour Party was merely dished, in Germany it was abolished; that the difference in violence might be said to correspond to the difference in degree of the economic depression: such comparisons are momentarily anathema. Perhaps they are seditious. Nevertheless, the comparative method is one of the best we have for getting at the causes of things.

But, as aforesaid, a knowledge of the causes of things does not necessarily promote happiness, if you happen to live in a nation determined to ignore them. The best thing to do in such a case is to try to break down that foolish determination. It is not merely foolish, but fatal. For this deliberate and nation-wide ignorance of the causes of this war can only precipitate the next one. What Britain should be doing, if only for self-preservation's sake, is not to fight blindly on in the persuasion that Germany is the devil, but at all costs to find some permanent cure for the evil of economic depression. If that were appreciated, people might be shocked at the implications of the refusal of the Government to allow Civil Servants to assist Sir William Beveridge in his inquiry into the conditions of "full employment." That would lead them to the conclusion that this National Government is a government which does not want peace. The conclusion would be true. The British Government does not want peace. It wants victory: which is an entirely different matter.

Then it would also appear that the chief difference between the British Government and the German is that the German wants war and says so, while the British wants war and says it doesn't. That roughly corresponds to the psychological distinction between the British National Government which dished the Labour movement, and the German National Government which abolished it. After a brief education on these lines, the common Englishman might wake to the fact that the quickest way of ending this war is the way to prevent the next from beginning: namely, for the English people and the German to get rid of their war-minded leaders and join together in a common effort to cure the evil of economic depression and mass-unemployment. Then knowledge of the causes of things would no longer bring unhappiness and foreboding to the few, but happiness to all.

Peace News is open for the expression of all pacifist points of view. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement or PPU connection with the matter advertised. Postal subscription rates: Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d. Displayed advertisements: Maximum size, 3 column-inches. Copy by first post Friday.

Has the Peace Pledge Union a Policy?

THE Peace Pledge Union is composed of members who have signed the Pledge: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another." This Pledge is the only point of formal agreement between all members.

But to the Pledge, as times have changed, and the thought of the Movement has developed, there have been added the Four Affirmations, which, though not regarded as binding upon any individual member, have expressed officially the mind of the PPU. The Movement has thus sufficient of a common outlook to express general agreement upon certain vital approaches to the problems of the day.

In these Affirmations we affirm:—

1. The supreme value of the human person and the integrity of the individual;
2. That the individual achieves full personality only through the establishment of right relationship with others;
3. That we must witness against existing society's denial of the pacifist way of life, and we must work for a new society based upon a new culture;
4. That we must follow the way of justice and love, in order to bring about the redemption of the individual and of society.

By these affirmations we show that our attitude is far from that of merely negative opposition to an evil, however great: rather we commit ourselves to a positive way of life, which, because it pursues justice and love, creates peace in the world.

AS Eric Gill says, the "real and primary work" of the PPU is not the prevention of war, necessary though that work is: its primary and real work is the preparation of peace, the rediscovery of the foundations of human order and the winning of men to build upon them."

In "The Human Person and Society" he also exposes the immorality of capitalism. "Democracy is impossible," he says, "unless the people be free, and freedom is impossible in our (or any other) capitalist industrialism."

"We have for so long ignored the human way," says Raven, "that to recover it will mean something in the nature of a revolution, first in our thought and then in our actions. The individual only attains full personal status in fellowship, and a society which does not enable fullness of personal life in its components is sub-human. If we and all men are to blame for what has happened, for a social order that breeds lust and greed and the mass-murder of modern war, then we, and all men if they will, must change our way of life."

"The Bond of Peace pamphlets," says Middleton Murry, "paved the way for what may ultimately become the most important revolutionary movement of our time... The present objective of the PPU as defined by its historical development is the creation of a society founded on the conception of man as a human person, with all the rights and duties involved in that status... It follows that power politics must

by
MAURICE L. ROWNTREE

be superseded by the politics of consent, which depend upon the spread of a new culture based on right human relations.

"But how shall such a society be established?"

After surveying pessimistic and optimistic attitudes to the salvaging of democracy, Murry continues: It is "of the utmost importance to start now, while such liberty as we possess remains, to lay the foundations of a new way of living," and at the same time "make the fullest use of whatever democratic political channels still remain."

"Should the process of collapse within capitalist democracy continue, a point will be reached at which the historical path of the PPU becomes the only road which offers any hope of achieving social salvation... It places upon pacifists a responsibility for social leadership which they must not shirk. It is thus incumbent upon the PPU to extol and exemplify values which, if widely adopted, will transform the anti-social, class-warring society of capitalism into a community of free men and women who have renounced war because they have learnt to esteem good relations with one another more highly than riches or power."

To which, in "Our Long-Term Faith," he adds:

"Any movement which has for its object to change society into a genuine community must itself become a genuine community."

Wellock's whole pamphlet expounds a similar point of view.

THE above quotations, though written before this war broke out, challenge us anew to work along lines which are, in broad outline, quite clear. This does not mean that we desire to compel any who do not agree to follow in this direction, but it should increasingly inspire us, in the critical days ahead, to work vigorously and harmoniously together, in order that we may make a more effective impact upon society.

It seems to me that our emphasis upon human values impels us as a Movement consistently to espouse the cause of the dispossessed in their struggle for life and freedom. Naturally, therefore, we should wish to support working-class movements wherever we rightly can, pursuing always those methods which lead to an extension of general wellbeing and personal liberty and opportunity.

"A community," says Raven, "the members of which have attained an organic solidarity one with another, and are of one heart and one soul," finds itself possessed of a dynamic capacity literally unlimited in its possibilities... In these days when all the world is expectant... the effect of a recovery of the human way, even by a handful of men and women, might be electric."

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

C.O.s In the U.S.S.R.

IN a land where pacifism of the Tolstoy extremist variety had its roots there must obviously be a reason why nobody registered as a conscientious objector. The answer can be found in a booklet obtainable from Freedom Press, 27 Belsize Rd., London, N.W.3, entitled "The Russian Myth."

Here Mr. Holgate will find a reprint of a Military Order promulgated by the Supreme Soviet in the Soviet paper Red Star. It makes insubordination punishable by immediate death by shooting, without any form of trial whatsoever. And any Commander who fails to execute this order is himself guilty of an infringement of "military discipline."

GEORGE PLUME

114 W. Campbell St.,
Glasgow, C.2.

Call A Halt!

According to all reports, thousands are dying of starvation and disease in India and on the Continent. Again, thousands are killed when British and American bombers release their cargoes over Germany. And soldiers must be dying like flies on the battle fronts. Now things are going to get a little more bloody. The invasion of the Continent is going to begin and Germany is going to retaliate with the "rocket bomb," whatever that may be...

Isn't it time for us to shout "Halt!" loudly and persistently?

Oh I know we are all busy and that we don't want to "set folk against us." I know we feel it is fruitless to press for a "Negotiated Peace NOW," but is it right for us to be silent in the face of so much bloodshed and suffering?

JOYCE H. M. ALLAN
East Horndon, Essex.

Word - Bound

From the News-Chronicle, Dec. 28: "Boys who have received notice that they are to be called up for the mines have been interviewed... in various parts of the country... John Marsham, Trowbridge, Wilts., says: 'This is as bad as Germany. It is forced labour.'"

Although opposition to the principle of industrial compulsion and acceptance of the

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principle of its co-belligerent, military compulsion, are incompatible, being contradictions in terms, yet in a limited sense John Marsham is right. Industrial regimentation is truly "as bad as Germany." It is in truth "forced labour." The difference in this respect between British and German methods is one of degree, not one of principle. Orders are issued; there are penalties for non-fulfilment.

We in this country are word-bound. As a nation we accept slave labour when it's called "direction." In the same way, while I would not say that Beveridge is synonymous with Fascism or National-Socialism, it is very probable that Fascism or Nazism could be "put across" the British people if they were termed "Social Security," "The New Britain," or just plain "Beveridge."

T. J. E. WARBURTON

27 Warrior Sq., Hastings.

Fog of War

I am inclined to agree with Piers Plowman that it is desirable that people should discover their own path to pacifism, but isn't it a sad fact that young people might be excused for being unaware of the existence of such a path today, when the fog of wartime propaganda is about us all? If, as one would gather from Piers Plowman, reaction will take people from

In view of the many claims on our very limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters under 250 words.

their present course and put them on what we believe to be the right track, the future of pacifism is assured. But, though I make no claim to be a psychologist, I should say that the majority of people will condemn war until war comes again and the fog closes in; then the majority will say "What can I do about it?"—and become enveloped.

As a child my "meat" was pictures like "Dawn Patrol," and I played soldiers like the rest. Yet also I could be convinced by films like "All Quiet on the Western Front." So it would seem to be rather that childhood is a stage of "feeling" without analysing or interpretation. My childhood, however, was not spent in an atmosphere of hate, militarism, and nationalism. The truer values were there for me to see.

May I then suggest that it is advisable to help clear the mists that now surround us, so that all the courses are visible to the young voyager.

W. C. A. BRIDGES

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Information from the Organiser:

W. J. BRIGDEN, Esperanto Lecturer, Tutor and Publicist,
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I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

The Development Secretary Reports

Despite frequent disillusionment in the past, mankind always seems willing to start each new year with a crop of resolutions, so I hope I shall be pardoned if I suggest that our members add to their list of resolves that of giving more loyal support to their Group in 1944.

HUNDREDS of times, during the course of the year, members have told me how difficult it was for them to attend Group meetings; the black-out, inadequate transport, long working hours, etc., were all quoted as reasons for non-attendance. But recently I spoke to the Bishop Auckland Group and discovered that the secretary had travelled 10½ miles to attend. Furthermore, the whole Group helps the secretary, every other meeting, by making the journey to his house.

If a little more of that spirit were abroad during this year, I am confident our Groups would become more vital than some are at the present time.

During holiday periods Miss M. M. Anderson, our new Secretary for the Scotland Area, has hiked to Forestry Units taking gifts of cakes, cigarettes, and sweets from her Group. It is her intention to visit other isolated members when time permits. She hopes it will be possible for herself and a friend to visit some Units for a week-end, in the near future, and take over the cooking and housework during their stay.

Miss Anderson also reports that the Edinburgh Group has a work-party which knits socks, stockings, jerseys, pullovers, etc., for members in Forestry Units. If several other Groups could do something on these lines I think they would realize what a grand fellowship the Scottish Area Council could become, binding together its scattered Groups with lonely members on the farm and in the forest. During this coming year, so critical for all mankind, let us see that our influence spreads through improved liaison between members and Groups; the springing into life of new Groups; a greater activity on the part of Groups in speaking to any outside our immediate circle who are prepared to listen; and a readiness to find the money to back up the various branches of our work.

During the last month I have been notified of five new Contact Members at Accrington; Aughton; Dawlish; Liskeard; and Sway. The addresses are: Miss E. Wigglesworth, Arendal, Hollins Lane, Accrington; Mr. D. R. Bishop, Fairfield, Dawlish, S. Devon; Mr. G. C. Maddever, Loe Down, Liskeard; Mr. R. F. Savage, Arnewood House, Sway, Hampshire. Aughton is an Agricultural Hostel. Will isolated members living on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk please contact the Group which is now established at The Lodge Farm, Theltham, via Diss, Norfolk? Mr. L. Read is the Group Secretary.

On Jan. 16 I shall be attending the Devon and Cornwall Area meeting at Exeter, and in the weeks before and after that meeting, visiting Groups in the Western Area.

ALBERT E. TOMLINSON

THE FORGOTTEN MESSAGE

ALTHOUGH several of their letters have been published in the past, a letter to The Times signed by Vera Brittain and Prof. George Catlin, expressing a hope that there would be a cessation of bombing "during the Christmas season," was not published.

"The 1,000-ton raid on Berlin, carried out by the RAF on Christmas Eve itself, would seem to explain why," commented Miss Brittain to Peace News.

In their letter they wrote:

"How can we of the United Nations look for the re-education of Germany to Christian values if we convey to her young people—many of them born since the outbreak of war and therefore in no way responsible for

Hitlerism—the impression that Christmas, with its message of love and forgiveness, means nothing to us?

"It is with these young people, now looking forward to Christmas with the same anticipation as all the world's childhood, that the future of Germany, and of Europe, will rest."

* * *

In a year-book issued by St. Mary's Church, Ewell, the Vicar (Rev. C. G. Holland) writes:

"Surely, so long as the Church excuses and approves of the deliberate wiping out of whole cities, it must remain utterly powerless to witness to Christ. No sophistry or evasion can suggest that he would describe as 'loving our enemies, and doing good to them that hate us,' the scattering into torn ribbons of flesh the bodies of thousands of men and women with their families who are faced with the alternative of remaining at work in the factories or starving to death."

GREETING CARDS RAISE £305 FOR P.P.U.

AS a result of the sale of Christmas cards the West Midlands Area PPU have handed over to Headquarters Fund £305 0s. 11d.

"Such a result," writes the Area Secretary, Harry Hilditch, "could be obtained only by the support of thousands of members who ordered cards. To each we would say: Without your order this result would not have been attained—many thanks."

"And to Mr. T. B. Pitfield, who designed the card for us, a special thank-you."

New Ground Broken in Kirkcaldy

Having attempted to draw a crowd on each of the two recognized pitches in Kirkcaldy, Donald Port was less discouraged by a policeman's assurance that local by-laws prevented his holding an open-air meeting anywhere else in the town! He accordingly chose a street off High St. to speak in support of Henry Hilditch, the Christian Socialist candidate in the forthcoming Kirkcaldy Burghs by-election.

He was not prevented and (as stated in the Kirkcaldy Mail, which gives good reports of Hilditch's meetings) "clusters of twenty or thirty people stayed for five or ten minutes to hear the main points of the election programme outlined." At the close, Donald Port said they proposed to have a meeting at the pitch each Saturday from Jan. 6.

At a meeting in Dysart Town Hall Henry

FRIENDSHIP FOR CHILD VICTIMS OF THE WAR

THE scheme for pen-friendships between children in this country and Polish children orphaned by the war and now living in Africa (reported in Peace News on Dec. 3) produced so many letters from children asking for pen-friends that the organizers, the Polish Children Rescue Fund, had to engage special help to deal with them.

Expressing the gratitude of the organizers for this response, Denis Riley (who had described the happiness which such contacts bring to some of the war's most wronged victims) reports an extension of the scheme.

In addition to those in Uganda, children living in the Polish Home at Outdushorn, near Capetown, are now able to benefit by the scheme. And the children can now read and write English well enough to correspond without the need of translation in London.

Anyone wishing to help develop international-mindedness in this way should write to the Hon. Organizing Sec., Polish Children Rescue Fund, 1 Hill St., Berkeley Sq., London, W.1, giving the age and sex of their child. Small gifts (such as books, pencils, and crayons) can be sent, but other gifts must be forwarded through the Polish Red Cross.

Hilditch answered a number of questions put by voters.

In regard to India he advocated that Britain should leave it to the Indians. It would be a sacrifice worth making, as it would be a truly socialist gesture. Then, and only then, would the Indians rise to the occasion and settle among themselves the destiny of their country.

Criticizing the Government's policy of "no controversial issues," he said that wool was being pulled over the worker's eyes.

WORDS OF PEACE—54

Impiety

DAY of Humiliation and Prayer on account of War with Russia. It is wonderful what an amount of hypocrisy or of ignorance there is in this proceeding. The Government secures the co-operation of the State Church and thus attempts to obtain the concurrence and sympathy of the "religious public" to their wicked policy. Humiliation is indeed admirably suited to the occasion, for what feeling is more appropriate when we engage in the slaughter of our fellow-men—for no definite object, for no object in which we have any real interest, from which we have received no injury, nor indeed so much as an insult. Prayer for success seems much like a gang of burglars seeking the Divine blessing upon their guilty enterprise. The public sentiment is demoralized and Christianity is impeded and its character tarnished by impieties of this kind.

JOHN BRIGHT, Apr. 26, 1854

WORDS OF PEACE

★
a short anthology by
George Ll. Davies

★
4d. (post free 5d.)

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TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday, 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

COULD ANYONE offer home to crippled German woman, 63, needing help stairs etc. Can pay 2½ gns. week. Box 253.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station): Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCreith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

GIRL (bank clerk) requires small furnished room with cooking facilities. Hampstead or West End preferred. Box 252.

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URGENT. Two Pacifists, overburdened by large house and garden, want good dry bungalow, rent/purchase, anywhere South-West, or would part exchange delightful property, Cornish coast. Lasher, Ramsey, Looe, Cornwall.

WYE VALLEY (and Forest of Dean). Guest house in own parkland 150 acres. Very tranquil. Mild district. Delightful walking centre. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Glos.

YOUNG married couple require small unfurnished house in London, N.W. or S.W. suburbs, from middle of Feb. Tucker, 67 Stoneleigh Cres., Knowle, Bristol.

Accommodation continued

YOUNG PACIFIST COUPLE urgently need house or flat near Uxbridge. Oliver, 69 Castle Rd., Northolt, Middlesex.

EDUCATIONAL

IF UNDECIDED what to do, leave it to God. Should you find this difficult, some helpful individual guidance is obtainable by post, from 2s., from Grant, Psychologist, Burley, Hants.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. Cleanest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News. Hardmans, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

PENGUIN'S "Future of Medicine" by D. Starg Murray urgently required. Le Noury, The Grove, Poolsbrook, Chesterfield.

WANTED BY C.O., small quantity of seasoned or used oak. All letters answered and appreciated. Box 250.

WANTED. Rucksacks and Hiking Shoes, gents, sizes 6½ and 8. Jackson, 46 Ridding Lane, Wednesbury, Staffs.

LITERATURE, etc.

CHRIST IS COMING. Paradise to be restored on earth. Read "God's Picture Book," 3d., from Secretary, Prophetic League, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc.; without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

HAVE YOU visited the Pioneer Bookshop? Largest stock in London of Socialist and Progressive literature. A visit will repay you—and us. Books sent to order. Open 11.30 to 6 (Sats. included). Charlotte Place, Goodge St., W.1.

IS WILFRED WELLOCK RIGHT? Read "A Modern Luddite" by Ronald H. Smith in the Jan. Peace Commentary. A Socialist reply to "A Mechanistic or a Human Society." Peace Commentary, 1s. 4d. (post free) from 16 Mecklenburgh Sq., London, W.C.1.

Literature, etc., continued

LOVE rules the world. It is undying, unalterable, the One and only Power and Attraction. "The Voice Within," the organ of the Friends of God. Contents: The Foundation Stone; Life; Creative Evolution; The Spiritual Law of Attraction; etc. 2s. 6d. post free, apply Secretary, Brynhyfryd, Beaumaris, Anglesey.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

"THE LISTENER," several years, will be sent to anyone who writes for them. A. S. Cushing, Clare, Sudbury, Suffolk.

MEETINGS, etc.

COOKERY for men discussed, Universal Friendship League, Nature Cure lines (women invited). No more Duodenal Ulcers, Rheumatism, Cancer, Tuberculosis; social atmosphere; 8, Sats., 1s. 6d. Stamped addressed envelope. Katharine MacDonald, Naturopathic Psychologist, 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow.

EDINBURGH. Rev. Patrick Figgis, Thurs., Jan. 13, 7.30 p.m., Peace Centre, 44 Frederick St. Maurice Rowntree, Mon., Jan. 17, 7.30 p.m., Friends' House, 28 Stafford St.

PARENTS' CONFERENCE on "Education for Peace," 3 p.m., Jan. 8, Alliance Hall, Westminster.

SOUTH-EASTERN AREA A.G.M., Harrington's Cafe, Five Ways, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, Sun., Jan. 16, 12 noon. Bring own lunch.

"THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE." Public Lunch Hour Lectures, Kingsway Hall, London W.C.2, at 1.10 p.m. on Fris. (in two cases on Weds.) from Jan. 14 to Mar. 17. Lecturers: Rev. Leslie Weatherhead (Jan. 14), Edward Thompson, Olaf Stapledon, G. D. H. Cole, Harold J. Laski, H. N. Brailsford, John Macmurray, Franz Hildebrandt, Denis Saurat, and Canon Charles E. Raven. Admission free. Full particulars and reserved tickets (early application desirable) at 9d. per lecture or 5s. for the whole series from the National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London W.C.1.

WILL C.O.s, working in hospitals in London, who would be interested in arranging a conference of hospital workers, please communicate with Jack Carruthers, P.S.B., D.S.H., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

PERSONAL

C.O. AND WIFE would be grateful for holiday addresses where young child welcome. Moderate terms. Box 249.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 84 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

PAUL ABBOTT (due discharge Jan. 8) thanks 81 friends for Xmas Greetings. "—And the wall fell down" (Joshua 6, 20).

SITUATIONS VACANT

CIVIL DEFENCE (full time) vacancies exist in Shelters Dept., Coventry. For information write Tom Jellis, 107 Bray's Lane, Coventry.

ENERGETIC man, interested social service as Tutor-attendant for half-dozen retarded adolescents. Reserved occupation. Landworkers' applications considered. Female relative could be accepted on au pair basis, but not essential. Box 248.

MEDICAL Assistant required with view to partnership. Apply Dr. Harold Thomas, St. Clare, Merthyr Tydfil.

ORGANIZER, London Area P.P.U., salary £3 10s. to £4 per week, either sex. Applications should not be made in the first place but requests for full particulars should be addressed to The Secretary, London Area P.P.U., 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, up till Wed., Jan. 19. Envelopes marked "Appointment."

REQUIRED immediately, a Secretary and a Gardener Handyman for evacuated Nursery and Junior School. For particulars apply, giving some details of own experience, to the Secretary, Fortis Green School, Aspley Guise, Bletchley, Bucks.

SOUTH-EAST Greater London firm of Builders require men with a suitable condition of registration. Apply Box 247.

TEACHER, preferably General Science, also Housemother, personality appealing lively children, for interesting varied work co-ed school giving scope free and individual methods but little free time. Share work communal life with young keen staff. Photo. Freemount, Bacton, Hereford.

UXBRIDGE DISTRICT. Required, Froebel Teacher and Young Girl for K.G. Pleasant Modern School, Box 246.

Situations Vacant continued

WANTED FOR Peace News, girl from school for switchboard, reception room, and general office work. Apply Office Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Tel. Stamford Hill 2262.

WANTED, HOUSEKEEPER (vegetarian essential). Child welcome. Sewell, Ashcroft, Millford Rd., Sidmouth.

WANTED URGENTLY, domestic helpers for small progressive school. Hurtwood School, Peaslake, Guildford, Tel. Abinger 119.

WILL ANYONE mind semi-bungalow with elderly lady for three to five days per fortnight while daughter away? Room for child. Quiet country. 46 minutes Waterloo, hourly service. Light duties, no nursing. Expenses, board, and 7s. 6d. per day. Box 245.

50% SHARE in Profits plus agricultural wage offered experienced marketgardener to manage and develop marketgarden Hertfordshire. Only experienced man wanted. Wife help household parttime. Apply Box 238.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

ACCOUNTANT, ex-gaol C.O., prepares all forms of accounts, audits, income tax returns etc. Box 237.

C.O., 27, SINGLE, seeks job, school maintenance, little knowledge building construction, would consider anything of service to community, social service etc. Box 244.

C.O., 28, SINGLE, horseman and milker, 3 years' agricultural experience, seeks assistant cowmanship or similar post. Box 243.

DAIRYMAN, experienced, milker, tractor, horses, clerical, general, requires good situation or partnership. Box 242.

MALE C.O., age 34 years, conditional exemption, seeks position, clerical or light work connection with food, or social work. Box 241.

PREPARATION for post-war service. Postal tuition in German, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek. Box 240.

URGENT. C.O. (24), married, young baby, wants agricultural work with wage and accommodation (furnished or unfurnished), Midlands preferred, but any suggestion welcomed and considered. Box 239.

All available space for DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS in NEXT ISSUE is already booked.

What Co-operation for "Peace" Means

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

cream of the joke is that Mr. Willkie, in his campaign to be adopted as Presidential candidate by the Republicans, attacks Mr. Roosevelt for not having been top-dog at Teheran.

"Roosevelt has not assumed the leadership in working out two underlying necessities—a political base for international co-operation and an economic base for international trade and development. . . . The average man is not asking what Roosevelt or Churchill is going to do next. He is asking what Stalin will do next." (News-Chronicle, Jan. 3.)

Any stick is good enough for a Republican to beat FDR. If FDR had done this particular impossible, how the GOP would have jumped on him!

"Hopes" for "Peace"

IT is the opinion of Mr. Negley Farson (Daily Mail, Dec. 31) that this political struggle in USA may well end by destroying the hope of American co-operation in a permanent peace-settlement. Mr. Farson says bluntly: "The Allies' greatest danger in 1944 will come, in my opinion, from behind the lines—it will be the US Presidential elections."

The Foreign Minister of the Netherlands puts it more diplomatically:

"The main thing is that we may hope that, instructed by bitter experience and a wider understanding, the USA may acquire a consciousness of the vital interests of America in the effective preservation of peace in Europe."

And what does Mr. van Kleffens expect, if his now fragile hopes are realized?

"A strong formation in the West with America, Canada, and the other British Dominions as the arsenal and vast reservoir of power, with England as the base, especially for air-power, and the west of the European mainland—by which I mean the Netherlands, Belgium, and France—as the bridgehead. . . . This formidable western block would find its Eastern counterpart in Russia."

Hardly to be called an encouraging vista. If this is what American co-operation will involve, possibly Europe may be better without it.

"Vulgar Considerations"

THE USA and the USSR do not have to worry. Their future as semi-continents is secure, though not necessarily enviable. But the intelligent Briton, no matter how bellicose he may be, is bound to be afflicted by dubiety. He is, however he may fight against it by reiterating his absolute confidence in Mr. Churchill, a prey to the sense that the destiny of Britain is no longer in her own hands. To make a profession of playing honest broker between USA and USSR is to adopt a dangerous trade. These days,

DARKNESS and LIGHT

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

men and financiers. They are as blind as the masses which they lead: mere mouthpieces of their false hopes and false fears.

Not the evil of the "system." The system is evil only because it is the projection on to a vast scale of the evil of man himself.

At that we jib. Man, we say, is not evil. If we are patriots, we say that only German man is evil, Britons never. If we are pacifists, we tend to say that both are good.

It is a better thing to say, because it is nearer the truth; but it is not true. It is true only in so far as it implies that Germans and Britons are much the same sort of people, with an element of good in them; in so far as it asserts that both are good, it is false. Both are selfish as individuals, still more selfish as classes, and intolerably selfish as nations.

There, and nowhere else, is the crux. This selfishness, and nothing else, drives men, classes, and nations to war; plunges them headlong into a blind and ruthless struggle of which the certain outcome is the death of this civilization.

one can almost overhear Britannia assuring herself: "I am a Great Power"—as it were an Edwardian survival, "a distressed gentlewoman" in a shabby-genteel boarding-house.

We have high-sounding policies: "full employment," for instance. Can we, by our own unaided efforts, implement that? Not at all. It confessedly depends upon a huge increase in our export-trade. Is the colossal war-time expansion of American productive capacity going to fold up its tent like the Arab to make way for full employment in Britain?

I know these are vulgar considerations which no patriot should entertain. But they are based on my knowledge of human nature. Does the experience of this war justify any atom of belief that human nature has undergone a moral improvement—or that the Allied nations have become "a brotherhood"?

C.O. TO BE PROSECUTED FOR EIGHTH TIME

AT a special meeting of Lewes Borough Council on Dec. 22 it was decided to institute further proceedings against George P. Elphick for failing to do fire-guard duty at a disused brewery (now used as a furniture depository) on Dec. 17.

This will be the eighth time he has been prosecuted for similar offences. On four occasions he has been sent to prison.

Stanley Hilton was released from Saughton Prison, Edinburgh, on Dec. 27. For three and a quarter years he had been, almost continuously, in prison or under detention and had been court-martialled five times. He has refused to make any statement to the press as to whether he will comply with the "coalmining underground" condition of his registration as a C.O.

It is in its death-throes now. When the systematic destruction from the air of all the great German cities is accomplished, this civilization will have become an empty word.

Civilizations rise and fall. To the student of history the thought that a civilization should die is only too familiar. Civilizations always die. Nevertheless, it is a queer experience to be involved in the death of this one, and to have seen the death-throes coming on for the past thirty years.

And there is something unspeakably vile and degrading in the collapse of this one.

All the achievements of a Christian civilization, its democracy, its prodigies of invention, its massive material unity, made the bellows and the fan of a holocaust of mutual destruction, without parallel in history. And not a statesman in the whole wide world with the wit or the courage to cry "Woe!"

Never has there been such a spectacle of moral ignominy. Civilizations have collapsed—thirty or more of them—but never in such shame.

Against this shame Peace News is a protest. That is its justification; and that justification is sufficient.

For there is no justification for the continuance of the war that does not crumble at the touch of moral conscience or concern for civilization. That it never occurs to the champions of the war that it is a civil war of extermination is itself the evidence that our Christian civilization has collapsed.

It would be a different world from the one we live in, if Peace News could show a quick way to peace. The way is there. Everybody knows it just as well as we. It is to desire peace above all other things, and to be willing to sacrifice all other things for it.

Those who desire peace with this passion may grow to be numerous enough to be the nucleus of a new civilization. But they will not save this one. Nor should they hope to do so.

After all, it does not really matter. Civilizations fall: but Life endures. This civilization is too hopelessly corrupt to be worth saving. Waste no tears over it!

Tears, if we have any left, are for the dumb millions of human victims—men, women, and children—offered on the altar of Moloch in the great names of Justice and Freedom and Peace—even of Christ. When other civilizations died, they did not humbug themselves like this one.

Is Your KNOWLEDGE

Really Necessary?

"No one knows the day when it may be essential to put into practice knowledge gained from ARP News."

THAT was the Mayor of Conway's reason for wanting ARP News put in the borough's public library—in preference to Peace News! He described as Gilbertian the Library Committee's recommendation that Peace News be shown in the library, whereas their subscription to ARP News was withdrawn.

(But it was reported, when this recommendation was discussed at the December meeting of the Borough Council, that they were still receiving and showing a free copy of ARP News.)

Though Councillor Gwilym H. Hughes, protesting that he "did not take any interest" in Peace News, maintained that if there was in Conway a section of the public who did, then it was the duty of the council to supply it, the committee's recommendation was "referred back."

VERA BRITAIN

Reports on the Fast

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

thoughts and prayers were received from sympathizers who from ill-health or other reasons could not participate. Among such sympathizers was the Clerk of the Friends' Yearly Meeting.

Others who sent in their names, either directly or indirectly, included a woman of 81, a porter in a busy general hospital, a CO in jail, and a land-worker engaged in heavy work, who in limiting his food to one meal per day, wrote that he was glad to be able to join in this "outward gesture." One child of thirteen, deeply disturbed by the suffering of Europe's children, insisted upon joining for 24 hours, despite adult attempts at dissuasion.

FEAR OF THE UNFAMILIAR

A long and interesting letter addressed to "The Sponsors of the Proposed Fast" from one member of a group of friends in the Midlands, contained two paragraphs worthy of partial quotation:

"Firstly . . . I regard the idea as the first spark of positive action I have observed in the FPU. How revolutionary it really is I think you will discover from reactions you will observe from your present action, not the least of which is the extreme timidity with which people will regard the medical or physical possibilities . . .

"Secondly, the revolutionary character of fasting will be apparent from the opposition it produces. Fasters will find almost (if not equal) opposition and incredulity towards their action as they would in the initial stages of their pacifism and from those nearest and dearest to them. In fact, were it not for the strength and almost bitterness of this opposition, I should almost certainly have been able to tell you that our fellowship would be supporting you to a greater degree than it is."

These paragraphs explain why the number actually joining in the fast was not greater. Though opposition and even hostility was roused in some quarters by the proposal, the chief obstacle proved to be timidity.

Fear of physical discomfort, of prolonged after-effects, and of consequent inefficiency, undoubtedly played their part in limiting the numbers, but fear of the unfamiliar was probably more potent than any other influence. Repentance demonstrated "by prayer and fasting," like the achievement of spiritual unity through symbolic participation in suffering, are ideas more characteristic of eastern mystical religions than of the creeds accepted (and practised only when convenient) by the aggressive and unimaginative West.

WIDER REPERCUSSIONS

The possible effect of such ideas, at any rate, is something to which no limits can be set. "The wind bloweth where it listeth"; and a concern expressed by one group in one manner may simultaneously influence another, though the method chosen be quite different.

The Sponsors of the fast and those who took part in it are encouraged by the news that—thanks largely to the untiring work of Dr. Howard Kershner since his return to America—the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee has unanimously called upon the State Department to work out a system for supplying food to the peoples of Occupied Europe in collaboration with Britain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

It is to be hoped that all who are working here for Famine Relief will recognize the importance of America's challenge, and the need for continued pressure on our Government in order that we may meet it. If the end-of-the-year fast can contribute, however indirectly, to the success of the American initiative, those who took part will indeed feel that their concern and its expression have been richly rewarded.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

From a Mechanistic to a Human Society

WILFRED WELLOCK continues his reply to correspondents

It is a tendency of the human mind, when strong feeling is engendered, to jump to wrong and unjustified conclusions. Although I clearly stated that my aim was to make man master of the machine in order to recover values which industrialism had destroyed, many readers at once concluded that I desired to return to primitive conditions, to candles, dog-carts, and draw-wells,

A CLEAR-CUT definition of the function of machinery in all cases is impossible, as the nature and use of machinery must obviously depend upon many factors, such as the function and quality—utility and beauty—of the production, the opportunities for change of occupation, for exercising personal responsibility and a conscious social purpose, and such circumstances as the reaction of cows to the milking-machine, of soil to various kinds of machinery, etc. Experience and actual conditions must eventually decide the issue in every case. Harold Bing's outline could be accepted as a rough guide.

At the same time, I believe that as the advantages and satisfactions of creative labour are realized, the tendency will be to cut out hundreds of desires and demands which have been artificially stimulated by a profit-making economy, and to concentrate on quality production, and thus more and more to substitute craft for machinery in all directions.

To determine the proper sphere of the machine will be one of the main tasks of the creative revolution. As that revolution will be manifested in regional areas, and in small industrial

units controlled by guilds of workers, which the Diesel engine, the electric motor, the grid, and the water-wheel make possible, the workers themselves would be able to combine machinery and craft according to desire and need, which would change with the advance of culture, especially the culture of creative production.

In due course regions would become known for their high-grade productions and distinctions of design. Local councils of the various guilds could easily arrange for those with monotonous jobs to have a change of occupation, to spend part of their time in some craft or on the land, so that every member of the community might experience the joy and satisfaction of responsible, creative labour.

At the same time, we ought to bring back those fireside arts and handicrafts which once enriched the home-life of our country as nothing has done since. Knitting, which is the only craft which has continued to any extent, as also hand-spinning, basket-making, and many other crafts, go well with conversation, discussion, music, and reading aloud. And if at the end of a few happy social evenings one has a few skeins of wool, a pair of stockings, a jumper, or pullover to one's credit, that is an added pleasure, while to wear or use things made by hand is a perennial delight.

But the Philistines ask: Is this economic? I answer: Is love, is religion, poetry, music, economic? In any case, what greater wealth of joy could money buy? And what trash, what weariness of the flesh does most money buy, these degenerate days!

Harold Bing points out that large numbers of people have no desire to exercise responsibility and no objection to repetition work, so long as they get a reasonable amount of leisure, and of money to spend in it. But surely that condition is one of the evil effects of industrialism which we should try to remove. Human nature always tends to follow the line of least resistance, but it is the function of religion, of education, art, and creative labour so to tune up the soul that it will want to live at the creative rather than the automatic level. The supreme task of this age is to transform the mass-man, the robot, into a living soul.

To A. Eden-Green I would say: Yes, if I hadn't a house, I should be glad of a pill-box. In 1914 there was a house (often built of stone) for every newly married working-class couple throughout industrial England. During the last thirty years that right has been the privilege of an infinitesimal minority. This poverty in essentials with abundance in superfluities is the fruit, and is typical, of our mass-production civilization.

I endorse Donald Port's realism, but am convinced that in "community" is being developed a new way of life and a new kind of social leadership. More than £100,000 has already been invested in the experiment. As the old order wanes and crumbles in mechanistic totalitarianism, men, enthusiasm, and money will, I believe, increasingly flow into this new order.

How Bill Grundy can describe a creative revolution as defeatism beats me, especially when his alternative, on his own showing, consists of looking among the thistles of a decaying and collapsing order for the figs of good living.

I am sure no one would ask Frank Maitland to dip sheep; but while industrialism may have been kind to him, it condemns millions of his fellows to a sub-human existence. I am aware that many engine-drivers are devoted to their engines, and that sheep are killed, but today millions of men, women, and children are being slaughtered more mercilessly than sheep by the machines they have been taught to worship and to serve.

Another aspect of this question will be put in three articles by Alan Staniland beginning next week.